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BY

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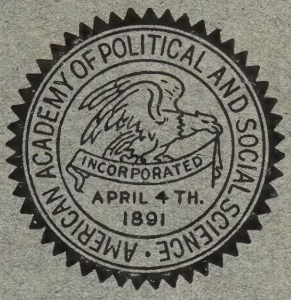

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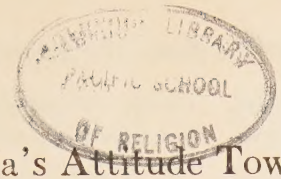

California's Attitude Towards the Oriental

By Eliot Grinnell Mears

Executive Secretary, The Survey of Race Relations, headquarters at Stanford University

The Survey of Race Relations

In the field of Oriental-American relations, the significance of California is out of all proportion to its area and population. The attitude of California and Californians has largely determined American foreign policy toward the Oriental.

The reasons for this situation do not appear on the surface. Why should three per cent of the population of continental America be the major factor in these diplomatic relations? Analogies made between Orientals on the Pacific Coast and negroes in the Southern states fail to provide the desired clues because of the marked points of difference, among which may be mentioned: eligibility to citizenship, social status, language difficulties, organization, industry, thrift, attitude towards women, pride, psychology and human geography. A fundamental distinction is that there is no African emperor to watch over the interests of descendants of former emigrants, while on the Pacific there stands a territorially small but sensitive and powerful nation ready to protect its nationals. Nevertheless, a balancing of these various factors, as weighed by the writer, an adopted son of Yankee birth, who expresses views not necessarily his own, makes it appear all the more remarkable that the wishes of Californians and their commonwealth should dominate this situation.

It is in California, rather than in the northward states of Oregon and Washington, that one finds leadership. There are three explanations: first, the great majority of Orientals on the Pacific Coast as well as in the United States (excluding Hawaii) have resided in California; second, Pacific Coast affairs have taken their cue mainly from California, and, in particular, the locality between San Francisco and Sacramento; and third, the cross currents of the coast press unduly favor this state. Relative to point three, it is worth while to note that the news channels to and from California operate largely east and west; also, California news is fairly well distributed in Oregon, Washington and the Province of British Columbia, but the return news is meager. Therefore, the California attitude as expressed by the ever-influential press permeates all sections of the country, including the Pacific Northwest. California assumes the rôle of the big brother of the American Pacific Coast.

Yet the national importance of the state is of far more consequence. The part California has played and is playing in the determination of this American immigration policy is in marked contrast to the failure of the Southern states to convert the nation to their pronounced view on an intimate racial problem. Locally, it is believed that the fairly consistent attitude of the State Department towards Californian race problems has been too negative in character to admit of needed solutions: hence, the virile, determined and assertive state residents, both native son and adopted son, have not remained quiescent. Both official and private California take the position that they know. Practically every step taken is

deliberate. Confidence, bred of first-hand knowledge not obtainable elsewhere, breeds cocksureness. The vacillating national policy and Eastern public opinion in the 'seventies and 'eighties towards the human floods of Chinese impress the Californian with the belief that persons who attempt to solve the racial destinies of California, therefore America, without even crossing the Mississippi River, much less the Sierra Nevadas, are not only ignorant but gullible. Not only is California determined, but her position seems to her in accordance with the facts. The situation is decisively stated by the conservative *San Francisco Argonaut*, when in the midst of the local school crisis of 1906, this editorial comment appeared:

> The reason that we in California are calm in the presence of this crisis is: first, because we know we are right; second, because we hope to convince our countrymen that we are right; third, that if we fail to so convince them, we will, whatever they do or say, do what we know to be right.

But who are these Californians? The answer is clear. They are outstandingly Americans, descendants of the same stock which makes our country what it is to-day. Of the total population of 3,426,861 according to the Federal census of 1920, three-quarters are native-born whites and nearly one-fifth are foreign-born whites; the remainder are mostly Japanese, Chinese, and American Indians. Furthermore, due to the westward migration, the Golden State is more representatively American than probably any other state. For example, excluding the foreign-born, of the total recorded population of Sacramento, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego and Long Beach, the percentages of native Americans born in other states, were 50 per cent, 44 per cent, 20 per cent, 20 per cent, and 12 per cent, respectively. Therefore, state sentiment is influenced to a major degree by persons who were not born and brought up in their most impressionable years—the age groups show this also—in their present habitat. With all due consideration to the streams of immigrants from northern and southern Europe, the native American is the natural and accepted leader in her affairs.

This effect of sources of population on attitude towards Orientals must not be passed over without a mention that the Californian view is not localized. The early anti-Chinese traditions of the early days of Sacramento and San Francisco, for example, seem to the writer to have no direct casual effect upon the present community attitude. More potent factors are the relative number of other foreign nationalities, and the local attitude towards them, as in the case of the numerous Armenians and Russo-Germans in Fresno County where the Japanese have a much preferred status, or that of Mexicans in parts of southern California where Orientals are often forgotten. Contrary to popular belief, but confirmed in a conversation by a leading member of the Japanese community, it appears that the Japanese believe that they receive better treatment in the city by the Golden Gate than in any other large-sized city of California; an explanation due, it is said, both to the familiarity of its prominent citizens with the actual conditions and to their larger breadth of view, a parallel experience to the treatment of the black race by Southern gentry. Further contributory evidence is produced by the strong, anti-Japanese resolutions passed recently by the Long Beach Chamber of Commerce, a community organization composed largely of Middle Westerners who probably never saw an Oriental until a few years ago. Therefore, even at best, generalizations

by anyone are unsatisfactory as applied to a state larger than New York and New England combined; yet certain marked tendencies stand forth.

Causes of Present Situation

Historically, the Oriental problem in California deserves extensive comment, but space forbids more than a mention of a few significant happenings. The Chinese who came to California were needed for mining, construction work and truck farming. Largely from the agricultural peasantry of Kwang Tung and Fukien, they engaged in menial work at low wages and long hours. They supplied a demand which had never been satisfied by native or other foreign workers; therefore, they deserve due credit for their share in California's early progress. Their presence was not seriously resented until the hard times of the 'seventies, when falling wages and profits, and the invasion of the local market due to the opening of transcontinental lines, brought about serious unemployment among the white population. The immediate feeling against the conditions of unrest, by no means confined to California, brought forth a noted agitator, an Irishman named Denis Kearney, who directed his vehemence first against the wealthy, local corporations, later centering his attacks upon the large Chinese population. Aroused public opinion became directed against coolie labor and against Oriental labor; the Chinese were not coolies, although they had virtually that status. In submitting the question of exclusion to popular verdict on September 3, 1879, the size of the vote as well as the unanimity were remarkable; all but 4000 registered persons voted, and of the total vote of 155,521, all but 883 were in favor of the proposed act. There followed the Federal Chinese Exclusion Act of May 6, 1882; more recent legislation extended its operations indefinitely.[1]

Similar to the Chinese, the Japanese were at the outset welcome to our shores. They were likewise peasants, mostly recruited from the Hawaiian Islands. They took the place in large measure of the Chinese population that had begun to diminish year by year. However, the substitution of Japanese for Chinese was not a quantitative affair because Californians soon perceived that, unlike the docile, easy-going and subservient Chinese, the Japanese were ambitious, aggressive, and were backed by a proud, imperial government. The Chinese did not seek equality; the Japanese were insistent upon equal social recognition. Whereas the crimes, misdemeanors and legal restrictions practised on the Chinese evoked no marked protest from their government, similar treatment of the Japanese—which, however, has always been of far less intensity—met with immediate exchange of diplomatic notes or local pressure emanating from official Japan. A successful conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904–05 had produced, according to one well informed writer, "a certain arrogance or overbearing attitude in individual Japanese." The school question in San Francisco in 1906 prompted a militant message from President Roosevelt to the state of California and the dispatching of the Secretary of the Navy Metcalf to report on the situation.[2] The Gentle-

[1] The Asiatic Zone Act of February 5, 1917, directed largely against Southeastern Asia, does not apply to either China or Japan because of the separate arrangements with these two countries.

[2] The local grievance was that alien Japanese attending the local schools were frequently several years older than their white classmates, and that social conditions were open to suspicion. There was truth in the former assertion since it may be noted in Secretary Metcalf's report that in the sixth grade of San Francisco's Public

men's Agreement of 1907 soon followed. In 1909 the Asiatic Exclusion League, composed of labor union representatives, met at the Labor Temple in Seattle and initiated a powerful campaign against the Orientals, a movement which was doubtless backed by public support, but largely unorganized.[3] Labor has always been a pronounced element in anti-Oriental agitation.

With the Japanese rising rapidly from the status of agricultural laborers to tenant and in some cases to farm owners, the land question began to assume large proportions. Political changes at Washington and the need for local campaign issues played their part; but it was primarily the exhibition of industry, skill and thrift, those qualities which Americans admire in themselves, which brought about a fresh agitation culminating in the Webb-Heney act of 1913 whereby persons ineligible to citizenship could not lease land for a period of more than three years.[4] The terms of the latter were considerably tightened by the Anti-Alien initiative measure of 1920, despite the opposition by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and other commercial bodies on the ground that it was unnecessarily harsh and, moreover, would prove ineffectual; the measure was carried by a ratio of 3 to 1 with 72 per cent of the registered votes cast. It is interesting to record that San Diego County cast the heaviest vote against the act; Sacramento County piled up the largest ratio in its favor, and San Francisco County and Los Angeles County had somewhat similar results—both corresponding fairly closely to the state-wide poll. Nevertheless, this land measure is not to be taken as a satisfactory test of public opinion because of mixed features including (1) an entirely one-sided press, (2) economic pressure, (3) the plea for a "square deal," and (4) post-war psychology influenced by Japan's Shantung demands on China and her reported military aggressions in Manchuria, Korea and Siberia.

The latest and most fateful step has been the passage of the American Immigration Act of 1924 which abrogated without notice the Gentlemen's Agreement, arranged between President Roosevelt and Japan in 1907, to avoid the exclusion issue at that troublesome time. Section 13 of this recent act excludes from admission aliens ineligible to citizenship; therefore, it is regarded, and fairly, by the Japanese as aimed at them since the other Asiatics had already been excluded. The precipitous action of Congress was keenly resented by the sensitive Japanese people, since it appeared to question the good faith of the Imperial Government in carrying out the Gentlemen's Agreement and gave no time for reflection and consideration—an important factor in Oriental psychology; it placed the Japanese on a par with the Chinese and British Indians; and it denied them their cherished desire for

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Schools there were 12 pupils born in Japan of whom one was 20 years old; one 19; one 18; four 17; two 16; two 15; and one 14; the average age of the white girls and boys was from four to ten years younger. Similar statistics apply to other grades. The alleged moral conditions, figments of local prejudices, had scant if any basis in fact.

[3] In November, 1907, the *Stockton Record* gave this advice to the Native Sons of the Golden West: "The Native Sons can perform no greater patriotic service than to dedicate themselves to a sober and intelligent agitation of the Japanese problem. They should resolve to hold this state against the threatening blight of the brown . . . it is all very well for our statesmen to talk of international obligations, of world-wide fraternity and equality. Such eloquence looks nice on paper. It fits to the rules of diplomacy."

[4] Prof. Eugene Wambaugh recently directed my attention to the inability of aliens to acquire property in the District of Columbia. *See* Act of March 3, 1887, also Section 396 of present code.

equal treatment by non-Asiatic governments. Their resentment was doubtless directed more against their failure to be placed on an equal basis with European countries than with reference to the immigration question proper. Although this immigration measure passed Congress by a large majority, the inclusion of Section 13 met with hearty opposition on the part of much of the midwestern and eastern press of the United States, and was likewise regretted by many influential individuals, organizations and newspapers in California.

At present writing, the local attitude toward the Chinese is not unfriendly; towards the Japanese there has been a somewhat better sentiment largely through a feeling that the immigration and alien land acts have removed what was considered a menace; and the British Indians amounting to less than five thousand, including more Sikhs than Hindus, are a scattered and disappearing element, and do not cause much irritation.

The Problem To-Day

The telling slogan, "Keep California white," centering about population numbers, has no exclusive reference to a color line; hence the phrase is most unfortunate. The successive Federal censuses of 1850, 1860 and 1870 record that each tenth person in this state was born in China; moreover, in 1880, approximately 15 per cent of the state residents were Chinese, roughly equivalent to the adult white population of the state. Obviously, this situation could not go on indefinitely. As a result of the exclusion acts, whose provisions have been reasonably well carried out, the Chinese population both in the United States and on the Pacific Coast has been steadily decreasing since 1890. The Japanese population, likewise excluding Hawaii, but including the large gains through births in America, increased from 55 in 1870, 2039 in 1890, 24,326 in 1900, 72,157 in 1910, to 111,010 in 1920. The gradual dispersion of Chinese and Japanese away from the Pacific Coast is shown graphically in Chart 1.

The birth and death records for the Japanese appear in Chart 2, to which should be correlated Chart 3, which gives the age of distribution of California's entire population. The great fear of Californians, that the Japanese population would eventually swamp the state, was soon widespread, especially when the Registrar of Vital Statistics of the State Board of Health expressed the opinion that "unless checked, the Japanese will, in time, equal the whites in number in California." Since the early Chinese and Japanese communities were mainly made up of men, the Oriental population increase was not a matter of immediate fear until the Japanese, in accordance with local customs, received their young "picture brides." [5] The average person, living in the midst of racial propaganda, could not be expected to appreciate the illogical comparison, moreover, between Japanese and the local white population, with no account taken that much of California's population consists of married people from other states who are in middle or later life. How-

[5] According to Japanese custom, an exchange of photographs and registration of domicile in Japan is sufficient for a legal marriage. Therefore, a young Japanese woman might become duly married in Japan, then proceed to America to join her husband. Her admittance to America was sanctioned by the former Immigration Act. On the other hand, Chinese women did not come to America because of the existing exclusion law. Failure to appreciate the corresponding influx of Oriental women into California—as immigrants, future mothers, and agricultural workers has induced the superficial observer to have false notions regarding the comparative effectiveness in the carrying out of the Chinese exclusion acts and the Gentlemen's Agreement.

CHART 1

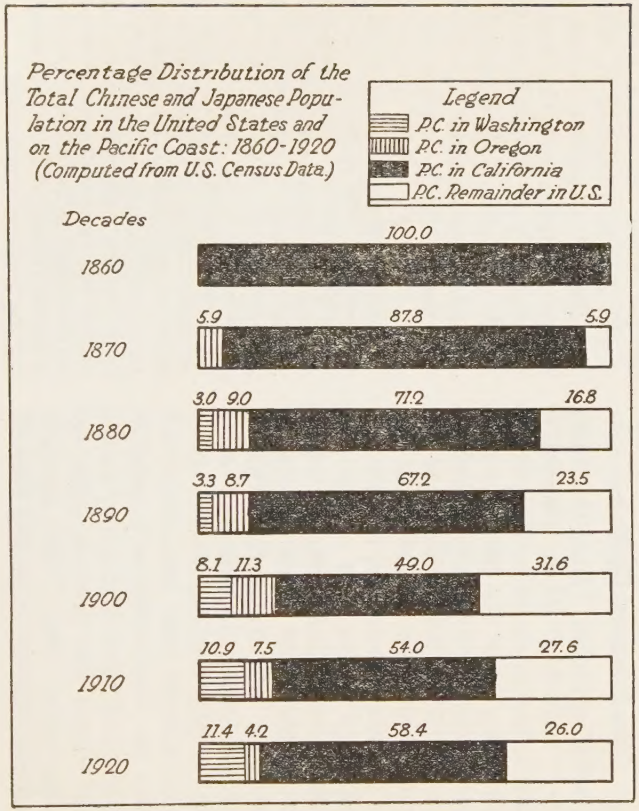


CHART 2

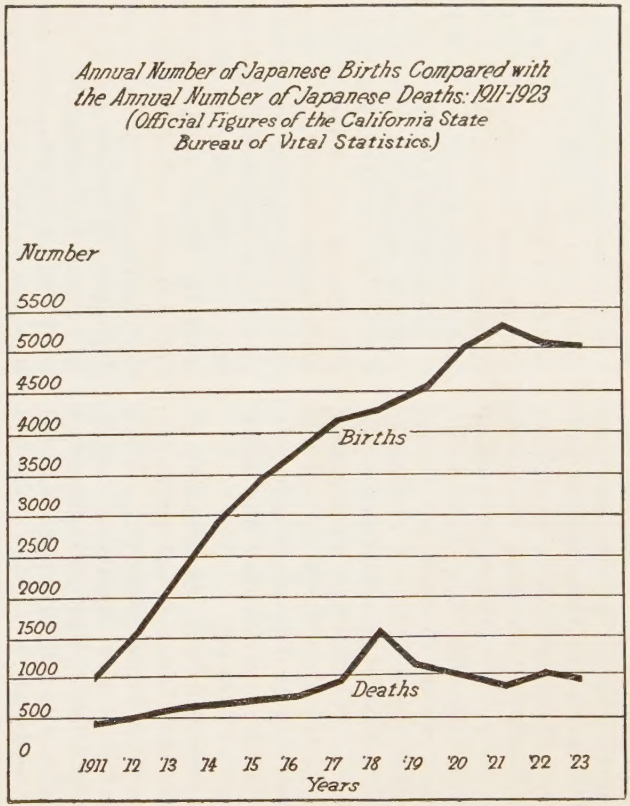


Chart 3

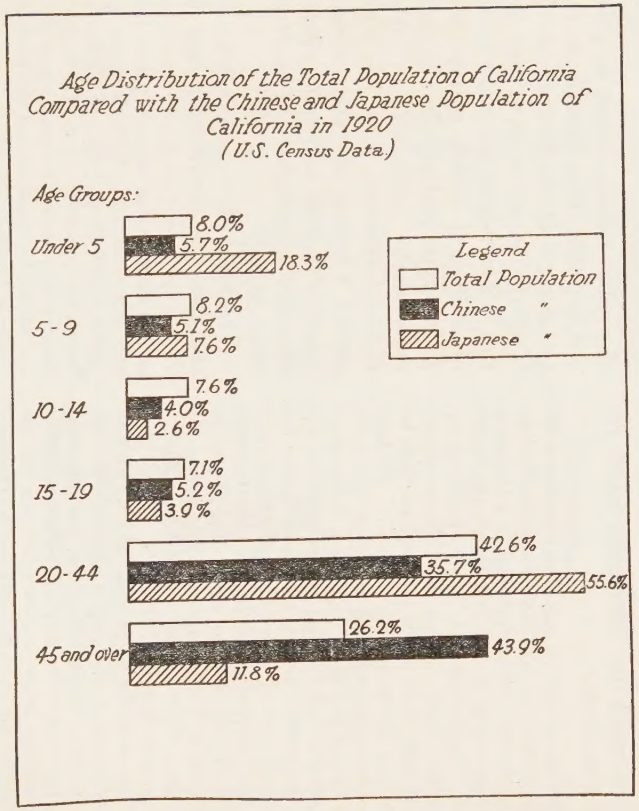
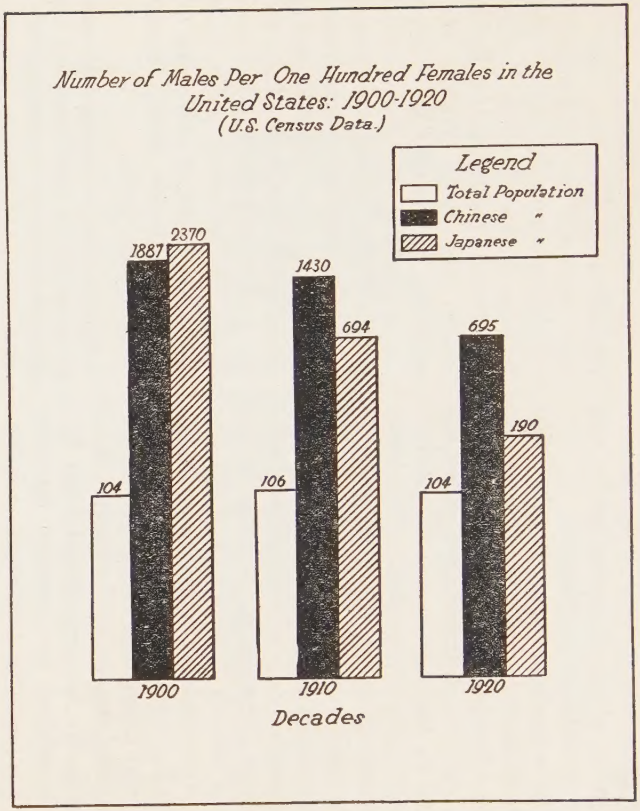


Chart 4



ever, there was general recognition of the youth of the Japanese brides and the few childless marriages.[6]

The remarkable agricultural ability of the Japanese, rather than the inertia of the white population, is the explanation for the acknowledged place attained by the Japanese in the production of fruit and vegetables. The lower standard of living, the willingness to work their women and themselves at all hours and patient drudgery made it comparatively easy for the Japanese to obtain a commanding position in the case of certain distinctive and not unimportant state agricultural products. Chart 5 gives the occupation distribution, and Chart 6 gives the percentage of specified crops raised by them. Both these charts are reproduced from figures furnished by Japanese interests and are probably thoroughly reliable. The Chinese, who had done most of the truck farming half a century ago, have left the country for the city and are seldom seen in agricultural pursuits. The native population pursues the world trend by forsaking rural for urban callings.[7]

[6] For further details regarding population and vital statistics, consult the "Tentative Findings of The Survey of Race Relations", a Canadian-American study of the Oriental on the Pacific Coast, headquarters at Stanford University, California, 1925. To quote: "The frequently quoted birth rates of the Japanese are high because they are extremely crude . . . the birth rate of the Japanese is very nearly the same as the birth rate of the white population of the state. In 1922 the average issue per white *mother* was 2.63; the average issue per Japanese *mother* was 2.83; and the average per Chinese *mother* was 3.26 . . . the number of births per 1000 married women of child-bearing age among the white population of California was 125.5; among the Japanese, 317.2; among the Chinese, 621.1." The sex ratio is shown in Chart 4.

[7] "The so-called white labor in California is, to a large extent, made up of alien peoples, notably Italians, Portuguese, Swiss, Scandinavians and Armenians. The real economic competition in agriculture is not so much between the descendants of the white pioneers and the Orientals as it is between the later European immigrants and the Orientals. A five-months' firsthand survey in the Great Valley of California brings increasing testimony that the sons of white farmers of pioneer and later stock are leaving agriculture for business and the professions."—*Tentative Findings*, op. cit.

The issue in California is clouded by prejudice, half-truths, lies, malice, ignorance and by a general apathy which is shaken off only during periodic incidents. The yellow journals of Japan and California, read by the multitude, are great movers of public opinion. Moreover, it is practically unheard of for any consequential journal in either Japan or California to adopt a pro-foreign attitude. The politicians, even the statesmen, must come in for their share of the responsibility, for, as Paul Scharrenberg, the thoughtful secretary of the California State Federation of Labor and member of the California State Immigration Commission, wrote:

> Japanese and American diplomats have so beclouded the main issue that the average man who is not a member of the diplomats' union, and hence not versed in the fine points of that game, cannot possibly follow the play.

Entirely overemphasized in the popular California stand is an alleged racial inferiority factor. In fact, even the rabid talkers admit in private, if not in public, that there is no basis for assuming that the Oriental civilization is inferior to our own; it may be superior. The important point is its marks of difference which appear to make assimilation biologically and culturally exceedingly difficult. "Whatever right-mindedness may be achieved," stated Viscount Bryce, "these racial marks still exist and cause them to be classified as members of their original class group."

The heart of the problem is naturally the presence, distribution and number

Chart 5

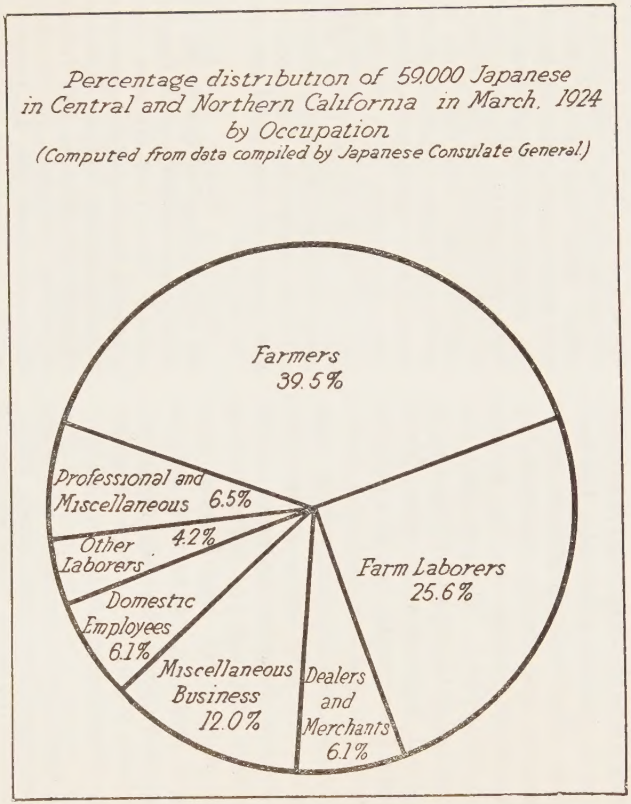
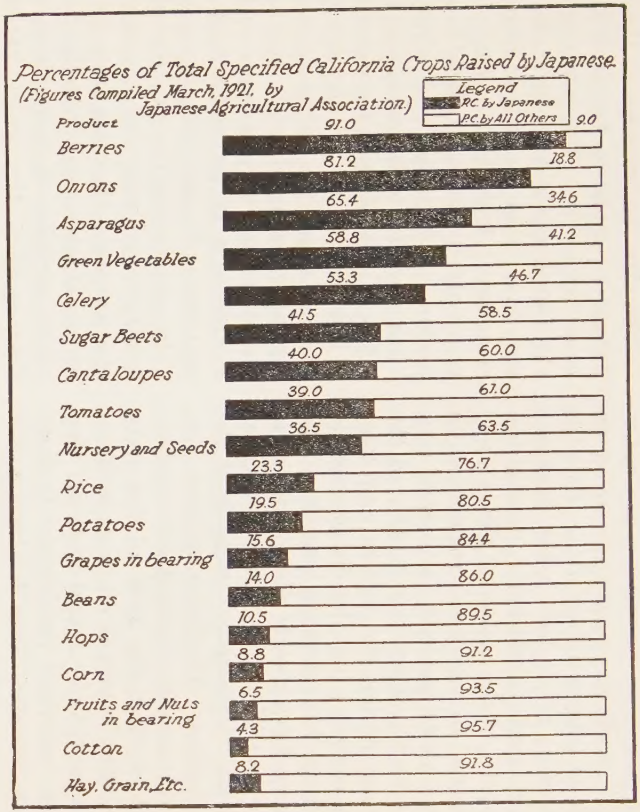

Percentage distribution of 59,000 Japanese in Central and Northern California in March, 1924 by Occupation
(Computed from data compiled by Japanese Consulate General)
Farmers 39.5%
Farm Laborers 25.6%
Dealers and Merchants 6.1%
Miscellaneous Business 12.0%
Domestic Employees 6.1%
Other Laborers 4.2%
Professional and Miscellaneous 6.5%

Chart 6



of the Japanese population in California. Nearly everyone is agreed, on the basis of total numbers alone, that the admission of a few more Japanese would cause absolutely no concern. The ratio of the combined Chinese and Japanese to the total population in 1920 was 2.9 per cent, a marked contrast to the numerical density of the Chinese during the middle and later 19th century; but the distribution in localities has changed greatly. The Chinese have mostly abandoned rural for urban life, segregating themselves into the "Chinatown" colonies of the larger cities. The Japanese have preferred to stay on the land, one result of which is that the bulk of the state population knows about them by hearsay more than by actual contact. One of the important preliminary findings of The Survey of Race Relations is that the sentiment in rural communities is apparently much more favorable to the Japanese than is true elsewhere: this is directly contrary to the accepted belief that the greatest hostility is in the regions where the Japanese are not only the most numerous but also the best known. However, city opinion, partly emanating and partly expressed by metropolitan dailies, is the natural dominating force. The fact that the percentage of Chinese and Japanese to the total population in tiny Yuba County, for example, was 34.5 per cent in 1920, and that colonies in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys were conspicuous, gave useful ammunition for the anti-Japanese barrage. More important still was the concentration of Japanese in the most favored agricultural localities, where their intense energy and co-operative aggressiveness have been resulting in a rapid acquirement of land control.[8]

The alarming increase of the state's Japanese population has been the chief cause for worry. The real purpose of the Gentlemen's Agreement, to put a stop to an increase without recourse to statutory legislation, had failed. Great alarm was experienced in a comparison of Japanese and white state birth records, to be explained by the influx of a people with a lower standard of living and in the younger age groups. Figures, appearing in the guise of statistics, were used with the utmost abandon—and no people can resist the combination of an embittered racial problem and rapid-firing statistics.

It appears that the majority of Californians agree that the economic pressure was and is the main cause for international friction; and from this friction, which partakes of competition rather than conflict, the social, racial and political aspects are emerging in more concrete form.

The essence of the economic factor is that nothing shall be done, domesti-

[8] Dr. Elwood Mead recounted this story told by an elderly farmer (The *Annals*, January, 1921):

"I came to this district twenty years ago. I live on the farm that I bought then and where my six children were born. They go to the country school. Three years ago all their playmates were white children. Now all the children in that school except mine and those of one other farmer are Japanese. My white neighbors who have sold or leased their land to Japanese have gone to towns. They don't come in contact with these aliens. They simply take their money. I live among them, but am not one of them. I am living there without neighbors. Last week a Japanese family moved into a house across the road in front of my home. That means more Japanese children in the school. It means that my isolation from people of my own race is more complete and I too am here to 'declare myself.'

"My farm is for sale. It is for sale to the first Japanese who will buy it. No white man will buy, for none will go into a Japanese neighborhood. When I sell, my white neighbor will leave and it then becomes a Japanese community. When that happens the trade of that community will go into new channels. I have always traded at the white man's store, put my money in the white man's bank, but the Japanese will do neither. They trade with their own race."

cally or internationally, to lower the American standard of living. To compete successfully with any peoples of so-called inferior standards of living, work and pleasure, the American must sacrifice his standard or go out of business. A cultured, well-educated, thoroughly Christian woman of San Jose remarked recently: "Please don't misunderstand me. I have absolutely nothing against the Japanese and I admire their thrift and patience and skill, but oh! I am so jealous of our land and our young men. The Japanese have come in and worked for such small wages and under such conditions that our boys haven't the slightest chance to compete with them. It isn't fair that our own boys are being driven away from the country because of cheap labor and poor working conditions." Other economic considerations are a generally believed but not wholly fair appraisal of Japanese commercial honesty,[9] a disposition to take advantage of political influence abroad, government subsidies and rebates for merchant shipping, a demand for an exorbitant increase in wages by Japanese laborers when fruit or vegetables must be harvested immediately or spoil, and the general practice of working all the members of the family and at any hours of the day or night. Nowhere are there more industrious, less meddlesome, or more thrifty agricultural workers; moreover, no people are more generous than the Japanese in neighborhood gifts of choice fruits, vegetables and flowers. But they are competitors.

The social factor is too broad to be definitive. There should be mentioned the Japanese language schools and joint attendance at public schools; Oriental group organizations; intermarriage between Japanese and foreigners is always mentioned, despite its rare occurrence anywhere in the world; religious bigotry might be included under this heading although it, too, is of minor practical importance as a cause for ill-feeling; segregated dwellings; an absence of personal contact between Occidentals and Orientals, between Chinese and Japanese, and also among some members of any race. It should not be overlooked that the inferior social status of the typical Chinese and Japanese coming to America placed a certain stigma on all persons of the same nationality. Finally, even the attractive, third-generation American flappers of San Francisco's Chinatown, not less enchanting than their Anglo-Saxon or Latin girl friends, belong to Chinatown.

The racial factor, also, is so seldom isolated that Californian opinion on this point is most difficult to ascertain. Where the line is to be drawn between racial and other features is a problem in itself. Unquestionably, however, a conflict of loyalties between America and the old country, Japan, enters in to a certain extent; therefore, Californians look for significant signs such as the failure of American-born Japanese to take out citizen papers,[10] the sending of American-born to Japan to be educated, and the close supervision exercised by Japanese associations and Imperial diplomatic and consular officers. The hand of the Mikado's Government was also suspected in the Magdalena Bay fishing scares, rumors of countless spies, reported stacking of

[9] This is too large a subject to discuss in this article. It should be appreciated, nevertheless, that the Western standards of business contracts, so much a part of our national life, are less important than personal contacts in the eyes of the Eastern world.

[10] The Japanese Act of 1925 reverses the process by requiring such persons to apply to the Japanese consul, providing they wish to become Japanese citizens: otherwise they possess only American citizenship.

arms, and the usual military hysteria. The "Supremacy of the Yellow Races" is also associated with political, military and naval manœuvers in the islands of the Pacific Ocean and on the Asiatic mainland. The writings of Lafcadio Hearn have a wide circulation. Nevertheless the pronouncements of powerful propaganda, such as the California Joint Immigration Committee as well as the personal statements of V. S. McClatchy, state emphatically that the difficulty is economic, not racial.

Most unfortunately, the Japanese Government and people cannot be persuaded that American national and state legislation is other than grossly discriminatory and has as its basis the indelible mark of social inferiority. Thus, at the passage of the Californian land law of 1913, the Imperial Government stated:

> The provisions of law, under which it is held that Japanese people are not eligible to American citizenship, are mortifying to the government and people of Japan, since the racial distinction inferable from its provisions is hurtful to their just national susceptibility.

When individual Californians have any feeling of superiority, the reason may be attributed mainly to the class of early Oriental immigrants; but the children of the latter are disproving even this unequal comparison by holding their own in our schools and intelligence tests. The writer strongly believes that it is very unusual when a fellow resident regards the Japanese as inferior. At any rate, the evidences are apparently far less frequent than in the social attitude of cultured Japanese in the old country towards either the Californian Japanese or towards East Indians and Chinese. On the other hand, Chester H. Rowell has stated that he experiences a distinct inferiority complex in the company of a cultured Chinese gentleman. It may be stated with emphasis, especially true when East and West meet, that personal sensitiveness on the subject of racial discrimination is more frequently the result of a strained imagination than of a stern reality. An aroused national feeling, fed by a yellow press and loose agitators, fails to analyze the entirely different motives of economic pressure, charitable donations in times of disaster, politics, patriotism, internationalism and the continued extremely cordial diplomatic relations.

The political equation in America is an unsettling yet powerful element in Japanese-American relations. Locally, the anti-Japanese groups find it a simple matter to enroll parties and candidates on their side; and the appeal to this manifestation of "One Hundred Per Cent Americanism" is welcomed by aspirations for office. The situation is unlike that of Greeks and Italians, for example, whose votes are courted in Massachusetts and elsewhere; there are very few Orientals who are registered voters, therefore political campaigns based largely on this issue entail the minimum amount of possible political damage. It is noteworthy that Federal anti-Oriental legislation, directed first against the Chinese and later against the Japanese, has been agitated and passed just before Presidential elections. Coast friends of the Orientals sometimes claim that the whole movement is political. Actually, however, the local politicians are interpreting the real feelings of the majority of their constituents, while Congress has become duly impressed with the political balance held by California and the other Coast states and the apparently inflexible stand taken on the exclusion issue. The overwhelming passage of Section 13 of the Immigration Act of 1924 was due principally to the concentrated

attention and education given to national Congressmen by the determined spokesmen for a "White California." In the opinion of the writer, this was an excellent example of the use, and abuse, of the legislative function by a modern democracy.

Exclusion or Restriction?

California is too vast and too divergent in its interests to have any individual or group as its sole spokesman. Within the Golden State are the same extreme views which one would encounter in any part of the Union. For example, some preach and practice the Brotherhood of Man; some ask the same naturalization rights for Orientals as for Europeans; some prominent persons hope for Chinese indentured labor; and one meets individuals who are heartily in favor of denying citizenship to all persons of Asiatic origin. In the present analysis, these expressions can be discarded practically. Too much consideration, however, cannot be given to the nearly unanimous view that either exclusion or restriction of immigration is necessary; the only divergence has been as to the method of dealing with the Japanese Government and the treatment of Orientals within our borders who have come virtually upon our invitation. Bishop Edward L. Parsons, of California, wrote in the *New York Churchman:*

> To sum up: a true American policy is the same as a true Christian policy. It means an agreement with Japan in the interests of world peace to stop further immigration; and it means an honest effort to Americanize the Japanese already here. Until such efforts have failed, we have no right to appeal to what is essentially force.

Usually the immigration and Americanization features are much confused.

The extreme views of organized labor, the American Legion, the Native Sons, the Grange, together with ex-Senator Phelan, Attorney General Webb, and V. S. McClatchy, are represented in the California Joint Immigration Committee, an organization which went on record in the fall of 1924 (partly as the result of a false charge regarding a Japanese resident, and partly to soften the blow of Section 13) as favoring the "square deal" for resident Orientals. The friendly Japanese Relations Committee of California reported in 1920 that "the greatest hindrance to friendly relations between Japan and the United States is the increasing number of permanent Japanese residents." Big business is well-disposed toward industrious aliens like the Japanese or Chinese.

The California Federation of Women's Clubs (1924) expressed to the women of the Orient and the Occident "our desire that we may arrive at an understanding of and a friendship for each other." The Commonwealth Club at San Francisco, in 1923, unanimously resolved that "immigration for the sake of cheap labor should be prohibited." The Southern California Sunday School Convention proceeded upon the assumption that "we understand that the Japanese Government is not asking for free immigration." An American missionary from Japan, speaking in Stockton lately, said: "There'll be no exclusive districts in the Kingdom of Heaven. . . . This does not mean that we missionaries believe in free and unlimited immigration of the Japanese. It is not the fact of exclusion to which we object—it is the method of exclusion. This is also the point of view taken by the Japanese." The church and missionary organizations have protested against the spirit and methods employed in dealing with Oriental relations, but they too do not publicly advocate unrestricted immigration, but state their Christian belief that they "are unalterably opposed to any and all legislation which discriminates

against any particular nation."[11] Finally, it should be made clear that the individual churches in the state do not authorize any outside organization to speak for them, but as individual communicants they are nevertheless in sympathy with the purpose, although not with the method, of Oriental immigration acts; and, it must be admitted, many ordained clergymen take a surprisingly extreme stand for exclusion. Generally speaking, however, there is abundant evidence in California of great latent goodwill towards Japan and the Japanese, once fears are removed or greatly diminished.[12]

These words of President Ray Lyman Wilbur, of Stanford University, to Dr. Tasuku Harada, in 1920, are doubtless true to-day:

> The present anti-Japanese sentiment seems to me to be fairly universal among all classes of citizens (except perhaps among those who might be called the strictly intellectual groups) in California, Washington and Oregon. The present temper of the people of California is not normal and would be hard to satisfy. . . . My own idea is that an open survey of the whole question by representatives of both nations would lead to a clear understanding of all the problems involved and would clear away many of the misconceptions.

To iron out these misunderstandings, to secure "a meeting of the minds," is the great task in Japanese-American co-operation upon which depends a continued happy era of "Peace on the Pacific." Public opinion in the two countries is now at logger-heads. Japan feels brutally injured by the abrupt disregarding of the Gentlemen's Agreement through the enactment of a statutory exclusion act. Many Californians deeply regret the means chosen by Congress to reach an end attainable equally well by means acceptable to both peoples. Now that the offense has been inflicted, they, like other sensitive Americans, are at a loss to know how to placate Japan. Japan, on the other hand, claims to oppose as strongly as Americans a mass immigration movement of her subjects into the rich state of California. *Since the population increase is the only issue about which Californians are seriously concerned,*[13] *the question is more a matter of mutual understanding that of irreconcilable differences.*

Inadvisability of Quota Plan

From even the California point of view, the application of the quota

[11] Rev. F. M. Larkin, executive secretary of the California State Church Federation, wrote me in August, 1925: "On the subject of immigration, there is a wide difference of opinion. In the north there are more people than in the south who are opposed to all Oriental immigration. It is my opinion, however, that the majority of ministers and our people are in favor of a law which would provide for the admission of Orientals into this country on exactly the same basis as immigration from European countries. There is a strong opposition to unlimited immigration and it is believed that the small number of Orientals who would be admitted under such a provision would not disturb our social relations with the Orient, which we believe is essential to the future civilization."

[12] The state of public opinion in 1920, somewhat less vehement now, appears in the following extract of a talk before the Commonwealth Club by Congressman William Kent: "We have reason to fear Japan, unless we watch our step. Japan is deliberate in its motions. I am sure as I can be of anything that it looks forward to conquest —to settlement of many parts of the world. I do not blame the Japanese for this. I have seen a very frank statement from a Japanese professor who stated that they were in close quarters; that they proposed to expand; that the white race had grabbed off the best part of the land and they proposed to get their part of it. This isn't pleasant to consider, from the standpoint of our white descendants. It points clearly to what may happen.

"I have long been an apostle of peace. I have gone as far as a man could in that direction, but I can't go far enough in my desire for peace to look forward to the Mongolizing of the state of California or the United States, nor to the creation of a mongrel race."

[13] What better evidence is there than the statement of the Japanese Relations Committee in 1920, when the Sub-Committee composed of Reuben B. Hale, now president of California De-

provision to Japanese would make no material difference in the number of immediate immigrants, but it would be a loop-hole providing a change was made in the general Immigration Act to permit the admission of relatives. Stated more fully, these are the arguments contained in the latest publication of the California Joint Immigration Committee, which would be endorsed by hundreds of thousands of Californians:

> Adoption of the plan would entail abandonment of the Nation's established policy of excluding aliens ineligible to citizenship and of the principle upon which that policy is founded; it would necessitate granting a similar privilege to all Asiatic races, or gratuitously offending many of them by discriminating against them and in favor of Japanese; it is known now that the quota plan alone would not satisfy Japan and her friends, and that it would serve only as an entering wedge for demand for unrestricted entrance of women for wives, for land ownership and for citizenship, etc.

Furthermore, in the opinion of the writer, it is decidedly questionable whether the reopening of the immigration provisions would not be the worst possible procedure for pricking national sensibilities already sore but in a healing process. Already there are portents that Californians who have been past leaders in anti-Oriental agitation would not raise serious objections to a revision of certain of the discriminatory state statutes.[14]

IN CONCLUSION

What is most needed is a clearing house of information, such as may be expected from the recently organized Institute of Pacific Relations which met in Hawaii this summer. Most important, however, it is to discover and harmonize the views of the following important groups: (1) the American, Chinese and Japanese governments; (2) the Orientals located on the American and Canadian Pacific Coast; (3) the native white residents of this Pacific area. Who should be the prime spokesman for American-resident Orientals? In conclusion, from an analysis of the various factors in the situation, the writer believes that the past California position, which in many respects has virtually become the American position,[15] can within a few years undergo a considerable modification in both its public and private aspects.

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velopment Association, Milton H. Esberg, a leading Coast business man, and Chester H. Rowell, now president of the California Academy of Social Science, reported to Chairman Wallace M. Alexander, for several years president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and leader in State activities: "The existing dissatisfaction with the Gentlemen's Agreement among the people of California is due to the fact that during the life of that Agreement the Japanese immigrant population has substantially increased. The people will be satisfied with anything which actually results in a cessation of that increase and will continue critical unless this occurs. The test will be the fact, regardless of explanations. The reasons why this result is desirable are well understood in both countries, and have been embodied, as Japanese policy, in the Gentlemen's Agreement. It is understood that the Japanese Government intends to take further steps toward the more effective practical realization of the purposes of the Agreement, and it is evident that the two governments should co-operate to this end. Criticism of the failure of the Gentlemen's Agreement to prevent the increase of population does not raise any question of good faith of the Japanese Government in its actions under the Agreement, but does recognize that there are individual Japanese who desire to evade its intent, and that the people of California believe that many of them have succeeded in doing so."

[14] This bears out the statement in the *Tentative Findings* of The Survey of Race Relations that "Since the enactment of the land laws and the Federal exclusion law, the Pacific Coast has had a kindlier feeling toward its Japanese population."

[15] President Coolidge, in signing the Immigration Act of 1924, made this statement regarding the exclusion provision: "There is scarcely any ground for disagreement as to the result we want, but this method of securing it is unnecessary and deplorable at this time."

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